

A

MODERATE EXPEDIENT
FOR
Preventing of Popery,
AND
The more Effectual Suppression
OF
JESUIT S and PRIESTS,
Without giving them the Vain-glory
OF
PRETENDING to MARTYRDOM.

By a Person of Quality.



Am not ignorant that this latter Age hath brought forth a swarm of busie heads, which measure the great Mysteries of State by the Rule of their self-conceited Wisdome : but if they would consider that the Common-wealth, governed by grave Counsellours, is like unto a Ship directed by a skilful Pilot, to whom the necessities of occasions, and grounds of Reason why he steereth the Helm to this or that point of the Compass, are better known, than to those that stand aloof off ; they would perhaps be more sparing, if not more wary in their Resolutions.

For my own particular, I must confess that I am naturally too much inclined to his opinion, who once said, *Qui bone latuit, bene vixit*; and freshly recalling to mind the saying of *Funcius* to his Friend at the hour of his untimely Death :

*Disce, meo exemplo, mandato munere fungi :
Et fuge cum Pestem, τη μολυτεγγυοσιν.*

I could easily forbear to make my Hand-writing the Record of any Opinion ; which nevertheless I protest to maintain rather problematically, than by the way of a conclusive assertion : therefore, without wasting precious time any longer with needless Prologue, I will briefly set down the Question in the Terms following :

Whether it be more expedient to suppress Popish practices against the due Allegiance to his Majesty, by the strict execution of the present Laws touching Jesuits and Seminary Priests ; or to restrain them to close Prison during life, if no Reformation following.

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The doubt propounded consisting of two Branches, necessarily requireth to be distinctly handled, that by comparing either part, the conveniency mentioned in the Question may be cleared with more facility.

1. In favour of the first Division there are not a few, who grounding themselves on an ancient Proverb, *Nemus & saevia, A dead man bites not*, affirm that such are dangerous to be preserved alive, who being guilty, condemned, and full of fear, are likely, for purchase of life and liberty, to engage their utmost in desperate adventures against their King and Country.

2. No less is it to be feared, that while the Sword of Justice is remiss in cutting off hainous offenders against the dignity of the Crown, the misled Papal multitude in the interim, may enter into a jealous suspence, whether that forbearance proceed from the fear of exasperating their desperate humours, or that it is now become questionable, whether the execution of their Priests be simply for matter of State, or pretended quarrel for Religion.

3. And whereas in a remediless inconvenience, it is lawful to use the extremity of Laws against some few, that many by terror of the Example may be reformed; what hope can there be, that Clemency may tame their hearts, who interpret his Majesties grace in transporting their Priests out of this Realm, to be a meer shift to rid the Prisons of those whom Conscience could not condemn of any capital Crime?

4. Neither are their vaunting whisperings to be neglected, by which they seek to confirm the fearful Souls of their Party, and to inveigle the ignorant, doubtful, or discontented persons: for if the glorious extolling of their powerful Friends, and the expecting of a golden day be suffered to win credit with the meaner sort, the relapse cannot be small, or the means easie to reform the Errour, without a general combustion of the State.

5. Let experience speak somewhat in this behalf, which hath evidently descried within the current of few years, That the forbearance of Severity hath multiplied their Roll in such manner, that it remains as a Corrosive to thousands of his Majesties well-affected Subjects.

6. To what purpose serves it, to muster the names of the Protestants, or to vaunt them to be ten for one of the Roman Faction, as if bare figures of numeration could prevail against an united Party, resolved and advised aforchand how to turn their faces with assurance unto all dangers, while in the mean time, the Protestants nestling in vain security, suffer the Weed to grow up that threatneth their bane and merciless ruine?

7. Sometimes the Oath of Supremacy choaked their presumptuous imaginations, and yet could not that infernal Smoak be wholly smothered, nor the Locusts issuing thereout be cleansed from the face of this Land. Now that the Temporal power of the King, contained in the Oath of Allegiance, is by the Papal See, and many of the Adorers thereof, impudently avowed to be unlawful; shall the broachers of such Doctrine be suffered to live, yea to live and be received of us, for whose destruction they daily sigh and practice?

8. To be a right Popish Priest, in true English sense, is to bear the Character of a disloyal Rungate, one that hath cast off his natural Obedience to his Sovereign, by swearing Homage to a Foreign Head. Whom, if by connivance he shall let slip, or chastise with a light hand, what immunity may not traitorous Delinquents in lesser degrees expect or challenge after a sort, in Equity and Justice?

9. If there were no Receivers, there would be no Thieves: Likewise, if there were no Harbourers of the Jesuits, it is to be presumed that they would not trouble this Isle with their presence: Therefore Rigor must be extended against the Receiver, that the Jesuit may be kept out of doors: were it then indifferent Justice to hang up the Accessary, and let the Principal go free; namely, to suffer the Priest to draw his breath at length, while the Entertainer of him under his Roof, submits his body to the Executioners hand? Without doubt, if it be fit to forbear the chief, it will be necessary to receive the second Offender into protection: wherewith a mischief must ensue of continual Expence, and scandalous restraint of so gret a number.

10. Reputation is one of the principal Arteries of the Common-wealth; which Maxime is so well known to the Secretaries of the Papacy, that by private Forgeries and publick impressions of Calumnies, they endeavour to wound us in that vital part. Howsoever therefore, some few of that stamp being better tempered than their fellows in defiance of our Government, have not spared to affirm, That Tyranny is unjustly ascribed there-

thercunto, for so much as Freedom of Conscience, after a sort, may be redeemed for money ; Notwithstanding there want not many Pamphleteers of their side, who opprobriously cast in our teeths the converting of the Penalty inflicted on Recusants, and refusers of the Oath of Allegiance, from the Kings Exchequer to a particular Purse. Surely we cannot presume that these Libellers may be dissuaded from spitting out their Venome maliciously against us; when they shall see their Priests mewed up without further process of Law : for either they will attribute this calm dealing to the Justice of their Cause, the strength of their Party or Patience, or that tract of time hath discovered our Laws importing over-much sharpness, in good Policy, to be thought fitter for abrogation by non-use, than repealed by a publick decree.

11. Moreover, it is fore-thought by some, that if these Seminaries be only restrained, that they may prove hereafter like a Snake kept in the bosome, such as Bonner, Gardiner, and others of the same Livery, shewed themselves to be after Liberty obtained in Queen Mary's days ; and if the loss of their Ghostly Fathers agrieve them, it is probable that they will take Arms sooner, and with more courage, to free the Living, than to set up a Trophy to the Dead.

12. Howsoever the Jesuits Band is known in their Native Soyl to be defective in many respects, which makes them Underlings to the Protestants ; as in Authority, Arms, and the protection of the Laws, which is all in all : Nevertheless they insinuate themselves to Forraign Princes favouring their Party, with promises of strange assistance at home, if they may be well backed from abroad: To which purpose they were wont to divide the Inhabitants of this Realm into four Sects ; whereof ranking their Troops in the first place (as due to the pretended Catholicks) they assumed a full fourth part to their property : and of that part again they made a Subdivision into two portions ; namely, of those that openly renounced the established Church of England, and others whose certain number could not be assigned, because they frequented our Service, our Sacraments, reserving their hearts to their Lord God the Pope. The second Party they alot to the Protestants ; who retain yet, as they say, some Reliques of their Church. The third Rank, and largest, was left unto the Puritans ; whom they hate deadly, in respect that they will hold no indifferent quarter with Papistry. The fourth and last Maniple, they assigne to the Politicians : *Huomini* (say they) *Senza Dio, & Senz' Anima* : Men without fear of God, or regard of their Souls ; who busying themselves only with matters of State, retain no sense of Religion. Without doubt, if the Authors of this Partition have cast their Account aright, we must confess the latter Brood is to be ascribed properly unto them : For if the undermining of the Parliament-house, the scandalizing of the King in Print, who is Gods Anointed, and the refusal of natural Obedience, be works of those that neither stand in awe of God or Conscience ; well may the Papists boast, that they are assured of the first number ; and may presume likewise of the lasts friendship, when occasion shall be offered. For the preventing of which Combination, it is a sure way to cut off the Heads that should tye the Knot, or at least to brand them with a mark in the Forehead, before they be dismissed ; or after the opinion of others, and custome of Sweden, to make them unwelcome to the feminine Sex, which now with great fervency embraceth them.

These are for the most part Arguments vented in ordinary discourse, by many who suppose a Priest's breath to be contagious in our English Air. Others there are, who maintain the second part of the Question, with Reasons not unworthy of observation.

Death is the end of Temporal Woes ; but it may in no wise be accounted the Grave of memory : Therefore howsoever it is in the power of Justice to suppress the person of a man, the Opinion for which he suffered (conceived truly or untruly in the hearts of a Multitude) is not subject to the edge of any Sword, how sharp or keen soever. I confess that the Teeth are soon blunted, that bite only out of the malice of a singular Faction ; but where Poyson is diffused through the veins of a Common-wealth with intermixture of Bloud, good and bad, Separation is to be made rather by Evacuation than by present Incision. The greatest biter of a State, is Envie, joyned with thirst of Revenge ; which seldom declares it self in plain Colours, until a Jealousie conceived of personal dangers, breaketh out into desperate Resolutions. Here comes it to pass, that when one male-contented Member is grieved, the rest of the body is sensible thereof : neither can a Priest or Jesuit be cut off without a general murmur of their Secretaries ; which

which being confident in their number, secretly arm for opposition ; or confirmed with their Martyrs bloud (as they are perswaded) resolve by patience and sufferance to glorifie their Cause, and to merit *Heaven*. Do we not daily see, that it is easier to confront a private Enemy, than a Society or Corporation ? and that the hatred of a State, is more immortal than the spleen of a Monarchy ? Therefore except it be demonstrated, that the whole *Roman City*, which consists not of one brood, but of a *succession* of persons, may be cut off at the first stroak as one entire Head, I see no cause to think our State secured by sitting on the skirts of some few *Seminaries*, leaving in the mean time a multitude of *Snarlers* abroad, who already shew their *Teeth*, and onely wait opportunity to bite fiercely. I will not deny, that whom we fear, we commonly hate ; provided always that no merit hath interceded a Reconciliation : for there is great difference between hatred conceived against him that will take away the *life*, and him that may justly do it, and yet in Clemency forbears to put it in effect ; for the latter breedeth *reverent awe*, whereas the former subjecteth to *servile fear*, always accompanied with desire of Innovations. And although it hath been affirmed of the Church of *Rome*, *Quod Pontificium genus semper crudele* ; nevertheless, out of Charity, let us hope that all Devils are not so black as they are painted : Some, or perhaps many of them there are, whom Conscience, or in default thereof, pure shame of the world will constrain to confess, That his Majesty most graciously distinguisheth the *Theory* of Popery, from the Active part thereof, as being naturally inclined, *Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodore* ; *nec pænâ semper, sed sæpius pænitentiâ contentus esse.*

2. Mistaking of punishments legally inflicted, commonly proceeds from *fond pity*, or the *interest which we have in the same Cause* ; both which beget blinde partiality. Admit then that the Papal side, affecting merit, by compassion may be neerly touched with the restraint of their *Seminaries* ; that cannot be denied, I hope, except they had the hearts of *Tygers*, that in humanity they will prefer their ease of *durance* before the rigor of death : And albeit that *Parsons*, *Bellarmino*, and the *Pope* himself, constrain their spiritual Children to thrust their fingers into the fire, by refusing the *Oath of Allegiance* ; yet we have many Testimonies in Judicial Courts and printed Books, that the greater part of them are of that *Theban Hunters* minde, who would rather have *seen* his Dogs cruel acts, than have *felt* them to his own cost.

Garnet himself also, in one of his secret Letters, lamented, that after his death he should not be enroled amongst the *Martyrs*, because that no matter of *Religion* was objected against him ; yet it plainly appears in his demeanour, that he would gladly have *survived* the possibility of that glory, if any such hope had remained : neither is it to be presumed, that being in Prison, he would ever have conceived that we durst not touch his *Reverence*, or that the Law was remiss, which had justly condemned him, and left his life to the Kings mercy. It was the distance of the place, and not persons, that interpreted the sending over Seas of the *Priests*, to be a greater Argument of their innocence, than of his Majesties forbearance : for had Father *Parsons* himself been *Coram nobis*, his song would rather have been of *Mercy* than *Justice*. It is truely said, that we are all instructed *better by Examples than Precepts* : Therefore if the Laws printed, and Indictments recorded, cannot controul the Calumnies of those that wilfully will mistake *Treason* for Religion, by the execution of two or three of that backbiting number, I doubt not but the Question may readily be decided : *Namque immedicabile vulnus en se recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur.*

To dally with *pragmatical Papists*, especially with those that by their Example and Counsel pervert his Majesties Subjects, I hold it a point of meer *Injustice* : for what comfort may th: good expect, when the bad are by connivance freed to speak, and emboldened to put their disloyal thoughts in execution ? For explaining therefore of my meaning, it is necessary to have a regard unto the nature of the Kings Liege-people that are to be reformed by example of Justice, and other *Forraigners*, who, will we, nill we, must be *Censurers* of our Actions.

It hath been truely observed, that the Nations of *Europe* which are most remote from *Rome*, are more superstitiously enclined to the dregs of that place, than the near Neighbours of *Italy*. Whether that humour proceed from the complexion of the *Northern* bodies, which is naturally more retentive of *old Customs* than hotter Regions, or that the vices of the City seated on seven Hills, are by crafty Ministers of that See concealed from the vulgar sort, I list not now to discuss ; but most certain it is, that the people of this Isle exceed the *Romans* in zeal of their Profession : insomuch, that in *Rome* it self

self I have heard the *English Fugitives* taxed by the name of *Picchiapetti Inglefi*. Now as our Country-men take surer holdfast of *Papal Traditions* than others, so are they naturally better fortified with a *Courage* to endure Death for the maintainance of that Cause : for this Climate is of that temperature, out of which *Vegetius* holdeth it fittest to chuse a *valiant Souldier*, where the heart finding it self provided of plenty of *Bloud* to sustain sudden defects, is not so soon apprehensive of death or dangers, as where the Store-house of *Bloud* being small, every hazard maketh pale *cheeks* and trembling *hands*. (*Angli*) say antient Writers, *bello intrepidi, nec mortis sensu deterrentur*: And thereunto *Botero* the *Italian* beareth witness in his Relations of many Strangers ; Therefore coming out of Forraign parts among the Rarities of *England*, desired to see whether Report hath not been too lavish in affirming, that our condemned persons yield their bodies to Death with cheerfulness. And were it not that by dayly experience we can call our selves to witness of this truth, I could produce the Reverend Judge *Fortescue*, who in commendation of our *English Laws*, made suitable, as he well observeth, to the inbred conditions of the Inhabitants of this Soyl, avoweth, that the *English* people, in triyal for Criminal Causes, are not compelled by *Tortures* to confess, as in other Nations it is used, for as much as the quality of the *English* is known to be less fearful of Death than of Torments : For which cause, if the Torments of the Civil Law were offered to an innocent person in *England*, he would rather yield himself guilty and suffer *death*, than endure the horrour of lingring Pains. *Insulani plerumque fures* (faith one) and so true it is, that this Country is stained with that imputation, notwithstanding that many are put to death, to the end that others, by their fall, might learn in time to beware. If then it doth appear that *Terror* prevails not to keep men from Offences which are condemned by Law and Conscience, what assurance can there be to scare those who pretend to be satisfied in their minds, that their Sufferings are either expressly or by implication, for matter of Religion and health of their Souls ? In such a case to threaten death to *English* men, *Quibus nihil interest humive sublimive putrescant*, is a matter of small consequence. *Purpuratis Gallis, Italiam et Hispaniam ista minitari* ; To a settled resolution of death, menaces to prolong a wearisome life, prevail much more in such cases. Rightly did *Clement* the Eighth consider, that by burning two *English* men in *Rome* for supposed Heresie, he rather impaired his Cause than bettered it ; insomuch that many present at the resolute death of Mr. *Marsh*, who was brought to dust in *Campo di Santa Fiore*, spared not to proclaim him for a *Martyr*, carried away of his *Ashes* for a Relique, and wished their Souls in the same place with his : which News brought to the *Popes* ear, caused him (as it was bruted about in *Rome*) solemnly to protest, *That none of the English Nation should publickly, from that time forward, be consumed with Fire*. On the other side, if we read the Volumes written of their Priests Constancy, their *Martyrologie* or *Kalendar* of *Martyrs*, and *Path-way of Salvation*, as it were chalked out unto the Papists, by sacrificing their lives for the Pope, we shall finde that by taking away of one, we have confirmed and invited many ; whereof I could give particular instances, if I thought any scruple were made in that point.

As for forraign parts which hold with the *Papal Supremacy*, it is clear, that they will be severe and partial Judges in this cause : For albeit that here in *England* it is well known to all true and loyal Subjects, that for matter of *Roman Doctrine*, no mans life is directly called into question, but that their disobedience in reason of State, is the onely motive of their prosecution ; nevertheless where a great Canton of *Christendom* is rooted in a contrary opinion, and things in this world are for the most part esteemed by outward appearance, this Land cannot escape malicious scandals, neither shall there be want of Colledges to supply their Faction with *Seminaries*. Therefore again and again I say, That if the state of the Question were so set, that it were possible by a general execution of the *Priests* and their *Adherents*, to end the Controversie, I could in some sort with better will subscribe thereunto ; but seeing I finde little hope in that course, I hold it safer to be ambitious of the Victory, which is purchased with less loss of *Bloud*, and to proceed as *Tully* teacheth his Orator : *Who when he cannot wholly overthrow his Adversary, yet ought he to do it in some part, and with all endeavour to confirm his own party in the best manner that may be*.

4. *He that forbeareth to sow his ground in expectation of good Winde, or a favourable Moon, commonly bath a poor Crop, and a lean Purse*. So shall it fare with this State, if private Whisperings of discontented persons, that never learnt to speak well, be too nicely regarded ; yet ought they not to be slightly set at nought, lest our Credit grow light

light even in the Ballance of our dearest Friends. The Papistical Libels inform against us, as if we were desirous to grow fat with sucking of their Bloud ; the very Walls of their Seminary Colledge at *Rome*, are bedawbed with their lying Phanties, and in every corner the Corner-creepers leave some badge of their malicious Spleen againt us, crying out of Cruelty and Persecution : But if the penalty of Death be changed into a simple indurance of Prison, what Moat can they finde in our Eyes to pull out ? or with what Rhetorick can they defend their obstinate Malpertness, which with repaying us ill for good, deserve to have Coals of Indignation poured upon their heads ? *Vixne maliebre confilium*, said *Livia* to *Augustus*, let Severity sleep a while, and try what alteration the pardoning of *Cimis* may procure. The Emperour hearkened to her Counsel, and thereby found his Enemies mouths stopt, and the malice abated. Some there are, perchance, that will term this Clemency Innovation, and vough the Precedent of that City, who permitted none to propound new Laws, that had not a Cord about their necks ready for Vengeance, if it were found unprofitable. But let such Stoicks know, that there is great difference between the penning of a new Law, and advice given for the manner of executing it ; neither, by their leaves, are all Innovations to be rejected : for divine *Plato* teacheth us, *That in all Common-wealths, upon just grounds, there ought to be some changes* ; and that *States-men* therein must behave themselves like skilful Musicians, *Qui artem Musices non mutant, sed Musices modum.*

5. *That an evil Weed groweth fast*, by example of the new Catholicks increase, is clearly convinced ; *But he that will ascribe this Generation simply to his Majesties Heroical vertue of Clemency, argueth out of the fallacy which is called Ignoratio Elenchi.* Was not the Zeal of many cooled towards the last end of Queen Elizabeth's Raign ? hath not the impertinent heat of some of our own side bereft us of part of our strength ? and the Papacy with tract of Time gotten a hard skin on their Consciences ? *Parva metu primo, max sese attollit in altum.* But if we will with a better insight behold how this great quantity of Spawn is multiplied, we must especially ascribe the cause thereof to their Priests, who by their Deaths prepare and assure more to their Sect, than by their Lives they could ever perswade. It were Incivility to distrust a Friend, or one that hath the shew of an honest man, if he will frankly give his Word, or confirm it with a sacred Oath : But when a Protestation is made upon the last gash of Life, it is of great effect, and possesseth those that cannot gain-say it upon their own knowledge. *The number of these Priests which now adays come to make a Tragical Conclusion, is not great :* Yet as with one Seal many Patents are sealed, so with the loss of a few Lives, numbers of wavering Spirits may be gained ; *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiae* : And though these Priests having indeed a disadvantageous Cause, are in very deed but counterfeit Shadows of Martyrs unto a true understanding ; yet will they be reputed for such, by those that lay their Souls to pawn unto their Doctrine, with whom if we list to contend by multitude of Voices, we shall be cryed down, without all peradventure : *For the gate of their Church is wide, and many there are that enter thereinto.*

6. *By divers Means it is possible to come to one and the self-same End* ; seeing that then the sum of our well-wishings is all one, namely, *That Popish Priests may have no power to do harm* ; it is not impertinent to try sundry paths, which may lead us to the perfecting of our Desires. Politicians distinguish *Inter rempub. constitutam & rempub. constituend.* according to the several natures whereof, Statutes are to dispose of their Counsels and Ordinances. Were now the Rhemists and Romulists new-hatched out of the shell, the former course of Severity might soon bury their Opinions with their Persons : But since the Disease is inveterated, variety of Medicine is judiciously to be applied. The Romans did not punish all Crimes of one and the self-same nature with extremity of Death ; For some they condemned to perpetual Prison, and others they banished into an Island, or some remote Countrey : Even in the case of Religion, they were very tender to dip their fingers in Blood ; For when *Cato* was Consul, and it seemed good unto the Senate to suppress with violence the disordered Ceremony of the *Bacchanals*, brought by a strange Priest into the City, he withdrew that Sentence, alledging, that there was nothing so apt to deceive men as Religion, which always presents a shew of Divinity ; and for that cause it behoved to be very wary in chaitizing the Professors thereof, lest any indignation should enter into the Peoples mindes, that somewhat was derogated from the Majesty of God. Others more freely have not spared to place Religion (I mean that Religion which is ignorantly zealous amongst the kinds of Frenzie, which is not to be cured otherwise, than by time given to divert or qualifie the fury of the Conceit : *Tantum*

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum !

Howsoever in valuing the power of a City, or strength of Arguments, quality and worth is to be preferred before number: Nevertheless, where the uttermost of our force is not known, it imports much to have it conceived, that the Multitude stands for us; for Doubts and Suspicions cast in an Enemies way, evermore make things seem greater and more difficult, than they are indeed: We have, by God's Mercy, the Sword of Justice drawn on our behalf, which upon short warning is able to disunite the secret Underminers of our Quiet; we have a King zealous for the House of the Lord, who needeth not to fear less Succes in shutting up of Priests, than Queen Elizabeth had in restraining them in *Wishich-Castle*; where less their factious Spirits should grow rusty, they converted their Canker to fret upon themselves, and vomiting out Gall in *Quodlibets*, shewed that their Disease was chiefly predominant in the Spleen. What Tempests they have raised in their Colledge at *Rome*, their own Books and many *Travellers* can witness; the storm whereof was such, that *Sextus Quintus* complained seriously of the vexation which he received oftner from the English Scholars, than all the *Vassals of his Triple Crown*. And untruly is the Magistrate noted of Negligence, or overmuch Severity, that lays wait to catch the Foxes, and the little Foxes which spoil the *Vineyard*; though afterwards, without further punishment, he reserve them to the day wherein God will take account of their *Stewardship*. For if Aristotle's City, defined to be a Society of men assembled to live well, be the same which in our Law hath reference to the maintenance of the poor in Peace: So long as we taste of the sweet of a peaceable Government, we cannot say, but that we live well; and that the City consisting of Men, and not of Walls, is happily guided.

8. An Oath is a weak Band to contain him, that will, for pretended Conscience sake, hold no Faith with Hereticks; or by Absolution from a Priest, thinks himself at liberty to flee from any Promise or Protestation whatsoever.

Therefore when I remeinder that *Watson* the Priest, notwithstanding his Invectives against the *Jesuits*, gained liberty to forge his Traiterous Inventions, and had others of his Society in the Complot; I judge it safer to make Recluses of them, than to suffer such to dally with us by Books, and some idle Intelligences, cast abroad only as a Mist to blear our eyes: But how shall we finde means to apprehend those disguised *Romanists*, that borrow the shapes of *Captains*, *Merchants*, *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, and all sorts of people; and by Equivocation may deny themselves to be themselves? In Answer to this Question, I will first shew the Reason why they are not pursued and taken, and hereafter make an Overture how they may be boulted out of their Huches. The Nature of Man, howsoever in hot blood it be thirsty of Revenge, in a cooler temper it hath a kind of *Nausea*, as I may call it, or a distaste of taking away of the Lives, even of the Nocent: Insomuch that in all *Affizes* and *Sessions*, an Offender can hardly be Condemned, whom the foolish pity of many will not after a sort excuse, with laying some Imputations on the *Judge*, part on the *Jury*, and much on the *Accuser*; and such is their blind Affection, that the *Prisoner*, who perhaps was never recommended for Handsoinness, will be esteemed of them for one of the propest men in the company: From hence it comes, that the name of a *Serjeant* or a *Purser* is odious; and the Executioner, although he be the hand of Justice, is esteemed no better than an Enemy of Mankinde, and one that lost Honesty and Humanity in his Cradle. Reverend Mr. *Foxe* was wont to say, That Spies and Accusers were necessary *Members* in a *Common-wealth*, and deserved to be cherisched; but for his own part, he would not be of any of that number, or wish his Friends to affect such Imployments: And albeit that the Law permits and commands every man to apprehend a Felon, do we not commonly see very many content to stand by and look on, while others perform that Office?

Likewise it is evident, That if such as are tender of their Reputations, be very scrupulous personally to Arrest men for civil Actions of Debt, they will be more unwilling Instruments of drawing their Bodies to the *Rack* or the *Gallows*; especially when there is any colour of Religion to be pretended in their defence. The diversity of Mens Faces is great, but the difference of their Mindes in this case is more variable, wherein the meaneest have thought as free as the highest. Besides this, there are too many of the blinde Commonalty altogether *Popish*, though not reconciled *Papists*, who

in their foolish Ignorance will say, It is pity any should die for their Conscience, though indeed they make honourable amends for their Treason : Verily I know not what misgiving of their minde it is, that makes men forecast the possibility of Alteration in matters of Religion, and for that respect they are exceeding backward in discovery and laying hands on *Seminaries* ; yea, and are timerous in enacting sharp Laws against them, as those that silently say among themselves, *Sors hodierna mibi, cras erit illa tibi.* Nay, shall I speak a Bugs word ? There is no small number that stand doubtful, whether it be a grateful work to cross *Papery*, or that it may be done safely without a foul aspersion of *Puritanisme*, or a shrewd turn for their labours, at some time or other : By which unhappy ambiguity it comes to pass, that these *Animalia amphibia, the Priests, I mean, that prey on the Souls and Bodies of either Sex*, unattached revel where they list, though they be no more seen, than a man dancing in a nct. How much fitter were it for us courageously to invite them to our Party, by *Preaching*, or *Confuting them by writing* ; and unto the state wherein we stand, wisely to apply the Exhortation of the *Affyrian King* to his Souldiers, *You are fools, (quoth he) if there be any hope in your hearts to redress Sorrow by flight, rather endeavour to make them flee that are the causers of your grief ; assuring your selves, that more perish in flight than in the battle.* Even as many seeking to meet the *Papists* half way, discomfot our own Party.

9. It follows now, according to the Method prescribed before, that an Overture be made, how to get the *Jesuits*, and their shadows the *Priests*, into possestion: It hath been heretofore recited, that the unwelcome name of a Blood-sucker, a Busie-body or a Puritan, hath been shrewd *Scarecrows* unto many honest mindes; by abrogating therefore of those or suchlike imputations, many will be stirred up to undertake the apprehending of the *Adversaries* unto the Truth ; especially, when for their pains and time employed, they shall deserve and have the Titles of good *Patriots*, *dutifull Subjects*, and *zealous Christians*: How ready is every common person to carry a *Malefactor to the Stocks*, rather than to the Goal or Execution ? and doubtless, they will be no less forward to attach a Priest, when they are assured that the worst of his Punishment shall be a simple Restraint within the Walls of some old Castle. A certain kinde of People there is, with whom Money plays a more forcible Orator's part, than any perswasion of the dutifull Service, which they owe to their Common-wealthe: These men will not be negligent to give Intelligence, and also to procure it faithfully, provided that reward may help to line their thredbare Purses, and exempt them from need to sell Liberty unto *Seminaries*. And where assurance of gain is propounded for Discovery, What Master or Housekeeper will trutl his Servant with keeping of his Priest, or sleep quietly, while he is engaged to the danger of a Mercenary ? I remember, that in *Italy* it was often told me, that the bountiful hand of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, made his *Intelligencers* so active, that a *Seminary* could scarcely stir out of the Gates of *Rome*, without his privity : which success, by mediation of Gold, may as readily be obtained from *Sivil, Valedolid, Doway, Lovain, Paris*, and other places ; and by forewarning given of their approach, they may be waited for at the Ports, and from thence soon conveyed to a safe Lodging. But whence shall the stream flow that must feed this Bounty ? It is a doubt easily satisfied. If some Thousands of Pounds out of the *Recusants Penalties* be reserved in stock, and committed by his Majesty into the disposition of zealous distributers, who will not be afraid to conclude, *Perdat fiscus ut capiat Christus.* Neither need we seek any further succour to repair decayed Castles, and therein to defray the charge of the *Priests*, with a sure Guard to keep them, than the aforesaid Forfeitures, that by the Jutice of the Law may be collected. Which course, if ever it come happily to be entertained, and that *Recusancy* cause to be an ignominious prey to the Subjects, the proceedings for Religion shall be less blamed, and perhaps altogether unjustly accused by any gracleſs *Gretzerus*, or *Cacodæmon Johannes*, tinting their Pens in Gall and Vinegar. For besides occasion of Calumниation given by Suits of that nature, it is evident, that many Recusants that would be Indicted for the King, and the effecting of the Project aforesaid, shall escape without punishment, and be born out against the Power of a private person, begging them to no other purpose, than hath heretofore been used : and albeit the Penalty be rated at 20*l.* a Moneth, yet was it never the Law-makers intent, that such as were not able to pay so great a Summ, should go Scot-free ; but that according to the proportion of their Ability, they should do the penance

nance of their Purses for their Disobedience ; whereas now (if the Voice of the People, which is said to be the Voice of God , is to be credited) the poorer sort is skipt over, as if they ought no Souls to God, nor Duty to their Sovereign : a poor man, faith one, is to be pitied, if he offend through necessity ; but if he do amiss voluntarily, he is more severely to be chastised ; forasmuch, as wanting Friends and Means to bear him out, it sheweth that his Fault proceedeth from Presumption.

10. Let us now presuppose, that all the whole Regiment of *Jesuits* and *Seminaries* were lodged in safe custody, may we then perswade our selves, *That Popery will vanish like a dumb Show ?* I am clearly resolved, that though it receive a great Eclipse, notwithstanding, without other helps, the Kingdom of *Antichrist* will only lye hidden as a weed, that seems withered in Winter, and is ready to sprout out with the Spring. Temporal Arms are Remedies serving for a time : but the Spiritual Sword is permanent in Operation, and by an invisible Blow works more than Mortal Man can imagine. *The Word of God carries this two-edged Weapon in its mouth, which is to be used by faithful Ministers of the Church, whom pure Zeal, without respect to worldly Promotion or persons, ought to encourage.* Of Judges the Scripture saith, *Estate fortis* ; and daily we see, that sitting in their Judicial Seats, God inspireth them with greater Courage, than when, as private persons, they are to give their Opinions. No less is the Power of the Holy Ghost in his Servants that out of the Pulpit are to deliver his Embassage. Let them therefore not be dismaid to speak out plainly, and tell the truth, without running a middle course between heat and cold. Unprofitable descanting upon the Scripture with an old Postel, or for want of better matter, waste the poor time shut up in an Hour-glaſs, with skirmishing against the worthy Pillars of our own Profession. Ruinour, which is ever ready to take hold of evil, hath raised a secret, though (as I hope) a causeless suspicion , that there should be ſome ſecret combination under-hand, by changing the ſtate of Questions, to put us in our old days, to learn a new Catechisme ; and when they have brought us out of conceit *with the Reverend Interpreters of the Word*, to uſe us then, as the Wolves (mentioned in *Demosthenes Apology*) handled the Shepherds, when they had delivered up their Dogs. Moſt ſacred was that Speech of our moſt gracious King concerning *Vorſtius* ; He that will ſpeak of *Canaan*, let him ſpeak the Language of *Canaan*. How can we draw others to our Church, if we cannot agree where or how to lay our Foundation ? Or how may we cleanse the leprous Disease of Diſſention, which the Papists, which are leaſt auſſured to themſelves, and moſt doubtful of their Salvation, are not aſhamed to aſcribe unto many of us ? I would not haue Minifters indiscreet, like Dogs, to bark againſt all, whether they know or know them not. I like better the opinion of *Aristotle*, who aduifeſteth thoſe that ſtand in guard of a place, to be curſt only to ſuch as are about to endamage the City. If Purſevants and other Civil-Officers would leaue to keep this Rule, they might go about their buſineſſ with muſh credit. The imagined fear of inviting the *Romish* Faction by force to deliver their Ghostly Fathers out of Prison, moves me not a whit : For I cannot believe, that they eſteem them at ſo dear a price, that they would run the hazard, by freeing others out of Hold, to put themſelves into their places. Some will ſay, That a man of straw is a head good enough for a diſcontented Muſtitude. That the Papists are very Cholerick, it appears ſufficiently by their Writings : Yet it hath pleaſed God to ſend thoſe curſt Cows ſhort horns, that when they could not finde a man of ſufficiency to ſerve their turn, they were fain to do Homage to *Garnet's Straw* ; forgetful as they are, that ſuch ſtubble cannot endure the Trial of Fire. But unto us, that ought to be Doers, as well as Profeffors of the Goſpel, let this remain as a memorablc *Theoreme* ; *Religion is the Mother of good Order, good Order is the cauſe of proſperous Fortune and happy Success in all Counſels and Enterprizes* : Wherefore in what eſtate foever there wanteth good Order, it is an evident Argument that Religion goes backward.

11. I haue ever held it for a kinde of Injuſtice, to omit the execution of mean Laws, made to prevent the effects of Idlenes, and then to apply main extremity of the Sword, when the proling habit gotten by that Vice comes to light. No leſs is the course uncharitable (with pardon for this presumption be it ſpoken) when we ſpare them that haue no Religion at all, and censure thoſe that can give account of ſomewhat tending to that purpose.

He that is in Misery, muſt be born withal if he ſpeak miſerably ; and when the Child from his Mothers Breast hath ſuckt nothing but *Popery*, a man had need to be angry

with discretion, if he hear him speak in the voice of a *Papist*. God calleth some by Miracle ; but the ordinary means is his Word : If that means in many places of this Land be wanting, of what Religion is it likeliest the people will be ? I suppose that few men will gainsay my Assertion; that outward sense will direct them to Popery, which is fuller of Pageants than of Spiritual Doctrine. And what is the cause, that after so many years of preaching of the Gospel, that the common People still retain a scent of the *Roman* perfume ? The Cause is, *For that the formal Obedience of coming to Church, hath been more expected than the Instruction of private Families : publique Catechizing is of great use, but the first elements thereof are to be learnt at home :* And these, which we learn from our Parents, stick most surely in our mindes. What was the cause why the *Spartans* continued their Government so many Revolutions of times, without mutations ? Histories record, that Learning their Country-Customs from their Infancy, they would not be induced to alter them. And in this our Native Soil we perceive, that the Common Laws, which rely on antient Customs, are better observed than late Statutes, of what worth soever they be : So doth it fare with the poor People, *who being once seasoned with the old Dregs of Papisme, will hardly be drawn from it, till the learning of the true Faith be grown to a Custome.* I will prescribe no order or affairs to effect this ; but I suppose, that the antient laudable course by the Bishops Confirmation, will not be sufficient to fulfil so great a task ; the Ministers must and ought to be the principal and immediate hands to give assistance to so gracious a work ; and in case any be defective in their Duty, the Reverend Fathers of the Church may take notice thereof in their Visitations.

Perhaps it will be thought a hard task to constrain old People to learn the *A, B, C.* of their *Christian Belief*. But how hard soever it be, I hold it no Incivility to prepare people of all Ages for the Kingdome of Heaven. *It was not the hanging up of the Bull of Pius Quintus on the Bishop of London's doors, or the forbearing to hang up Priests, that hath wrought this Apostasie :* But the Idleness and Insufficiency of many Teachers, conspiring with the Peoples cold Zeal, *that hath been the contriver of this unhappy Web.* Until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, a Recusants name was scarcely known : The reason was, because that the Zeal, begotten in the time of the Marian Persecution, was yet fresh in memory : And the late Persecutors were so amazed with the sudden alteration of Religion, that they could not chuse but say, *Digitus Dei est hic.* In those days there was an emulation between the Clergy and the Laity ; and a strife arose, *Whether of them should shew themselves most affectionate to the Gospel :* Ministers haunted the Houses of worthiest Men, where Jesuits now build their Tabernacles ; and poor Country-Churches were frequented with the best in the Shire. The Word of God was precious. Prayer and Preaching went hand in hand together : Until Archbilop Grindal's disgrace, and Hatfield's hard conceit of Prophecyng, brought the flowing of these good Graces to a still water : The name of a Papist smelt rank, even in their own Nostrils ; and for pure shame to be accounted such, they resorted duly, *both to our Churches and Exercises :* But when they saw their great *Coryphaeus* Sanders had sly pinned the name of Puritans upon the sleeves of Protestants that encountered them with most courage, and perceived that the word was pleasing to some of our own side, they took heart agrace to set little by the Service of God, and Duty to their Sovereign : therewithal start up from among us, some that might have been recommended for their Zeal, if it had been tempered with discretion, *who fore-running the Authority of the Magistrate,* took upon them in sundry places, and publickly to censure whatsoever agreed not with their private conceits ; with which cross humours, vented in *Pulpits* and *Pamphlets*, most men grieve to be frozen in zeal, and in such sort benummed, that whosoever (*as the worthy Lord Keeper Bacon observed in those days*) pretended a little spark of earnestness, he seemed no less than red fire hot, in comparison of the other. And as some things fare the worse, for an ill Neighbours sake dwelling beside them ; so did it betide the Protestant, who seeking to curb the *Papist*, or to reprove an idle Droan, was incontinently branded with the ignominious note of a *Precision*. All which winde brought plenty of Water to the Popes Mill ; and there will most men grind, where they see appearance to be well served.

12. If without great inconvenience the Children of Papists could be brought up out of their company, it were a happy turn : but I find it to be full of difficulty; there is provision made to avoid Papish School-masters, but there is no ward against Papish School-mistresses, that infect the silly Infants while they carry them in their Arms ; which mo-

veth

veth me to suppose, that the former proposition to examine how Children and Servants are brought up, and truly to certifie the List of the Communicants and Recusants, will be the readiest means to let His Majesty know the yearly increase or decrease of the Church in every *Dioceſſe*; and whosoever shall ſend his Children, or any of His Majesties Subjects, to be placed in *Monasteries*, or *Seminary Colledges*, or Popishly to be brought up in Forraign parts; I think that for punishment, both the one and the other worthily might be disfranchized of the *Priviledges* due to natural *English-men*, ſo far forth as any good by the Laws may deſcend to them; but not to be exempted from the penalties thereot, or the Regal Jurifdiction of the Crown. I know well that contradiction is odious, and makes a man ſeem ambitious to be thought more un-derstanding than others: in which caſe the *Spaniard* uſeth onely to term him preſump-tuous, whom he would call *Fool*, if civility would bear it. *But in my Defence I hope it ſhall ſuffice again to revive my former protestation, that I diſcoure by the way of propositi-on, rather than arrogance of defining any thing; with pardon therefore may I be permitted to ſay,* That the firſt eafe Law of Twelve pence inflicted on him that could not give a reaſonable excuse for his absence from Church on Sundays, was one of the best *Ordinances* that hath hitherto been enacted: but while we ſought to make new *Statutes*, fa-vouring of more severity, we neglected the old, and were loath to execute the new: for it is a certain Rule, that whosoever in policy will give liberty, and yet ſeem to ſup-press a Crime, let him procure ſharpe Laws to be proclaimed, which are only neceſſary for ſome times, and rare occasions to be put in execution; but not to be an ordinary work for every day of the week. Daily uſe likewife teacheth us, that it is leſs grievous to puniſh by an old Law, than by a new; *Forasmuch as Truth it ſelf ſeldom gets credit without proof, and it is hard to free the people of ſuſpition that new Laws are not rather in-vented againſt the particular persons and purſes of men, than againſt the corrupt manners:* By force of which reason, I am induced to conceiue, that the old uſe of the Church, con-tained in good nurture, and Eccleſiaſtical censures, will much more prevail to muzzle Popery, than any fresh devices whatſoever. Neither do I think it blame-worthy to affiſm, that our Caufe hath taken harm, by relying more on the Temporal than the Spi-ritual Arms: for while we truſted that Capital punishments ſhould ſtrike the ſtroak, we have neglected the means, which would, for the moſt part have diſcharged the need of ſuch ſeverity. The *Oath of Allegiance* is not offered generally to Servants and mean people; who if they had taken the *Oath*, by Absolution of a *Priest* might recoyl from it, or change their opinion at leisure, without any ready means to diſcover their *Leger-de-main*: *That Oath I fear will not be often pressed; and to them that ſhift from place to place, how can it be tendered?* The principal Papists now cover themſelves in the crowd of the multitude; but if we can diſcover the affection of the *multitude*, they eaſily will be unmaked, and being ſingled out, reſt aſhamed of their nakedneſſ; which un-der correction of better judgment, may be effected, if every new comere to inhabit in a Town, and ſervants newly entertained, within a week or fourteen days be caused to repair to the Minister, there in preſence of the *Churchwardens*, and other honest men, to ſubſcribe unto ſuch brief and ſubſtantial Articles concerning *Faith* and *Allegiance*, as ſhall be ac-cording to Gods Word and Justice, ordained to diſtinguiſh the *Sheep* from the *Goats*. In Forraign Countries, every Hoſt is bound to bring his Guest before an Officer, there to certiſe his name, with the occaſion of his coming, and intended time of his abode in thoſe parts; and in caſe he ſtay longer, he muſt again renew his Licence: *So curious and vigilant alſo are they to keep their Cities from Infection, that without a Certificate, wit-nessing their coming from wholsome places, they may not escape the Lazaretto.* No leſs ought we to be watchful to prevent the contagion of our *Souls*, than other Nations are of their Bo-dies. Every thing is hard and ſcarcely pleaſing in the beginning, but with time, ſome ſuch course may be readily put in execution; which I propound rather as matter for better heads to work on, than peremptorily to be iuſtified on in the ſame *Terms*.

But leſt any charge me with temerity, that when I deſire to know the multitudes in-clination by the means aforesaid, I ſatisfie my ſelf with their *Parrots Language*, pro-nouncing it knows not what; I think it not impertinent to put them in mind, that heretofore I have required instructions, *both precedent and ſubsequent*, and am ever of the mind, *That although all this cannot be done at once, yet it is neceſſary always to be doing our beſt, knowing, that not to go forwards in Religion, is the ready way to go backwards.* It is not the outward obedience of coming to Church, that diſcovers the inward thought of the Heart, it is the confeſſion of the Tongue that muſt utter theſe ſecrets.

And

And where the Curates are insufficient, or the Parish great, I wish they had Catechists to assist them, maintained by the Purse of the Recusants; which Pension being collected for Gods Cause, will free us of scandal, though it grieve them to pay the Spiritual Army waged against their own Stratagems. Surely by giving them way in petty matters, they are grown to be very masterful in their Party. Plato affirmeth, *That the Popular State proceeded from the Licence which the people took to make immoderate applauses in the Theatres*: when as by arrogating that immunity without controlment in place of their Governours; and perceiving the Nobility to joyn with them in the same passions, they thought their Heads as worthy to Govern, as any of those that were made out of the self-same mould. In like manner, while we suffer ignorance openly to maintain such petty glimpes of Popery, as are thought to be scarce worthy to be look't at, and in small matters run an indifferent course, which neither make sure Friends, nor feeble Foes, unawares they take the bridle from us, and eat out Religion as it were by an insensible Gangrena.

*Principiis obstante, sero medicina paratur,
Cum mala per longas convaluere moras.*

For by sufferance of breaking smaller Laws, People are emboldned to set the greater at nought.

To comprehend all things in a Law, which are necessary to the Reformation, I neither hold it profitable nor expedient; yet it is discretion to provide for the most important; smaller matters, whereof the Laws speak not, are to be commended to the discretion of Parents, Masters, and other reverend persons, who by example and advice, may prepare younglings by Education and Custom to obey the Laws; especially such as are in high place, ought in this behalf to be like Cæsars Wife: *Non solum criminis, sed etiam criminis suspitione vacare*; and with circumspection to behave themselves, that the world may conceive in requiring obedience to God and their Sovereign, that they hold the multitude rather for companions than slaves: if great men take another way, they may seduce many by example, though by words they express not their concealed opinions; *Tace & loquere, said God to Moses*; it is the speech of the heart, that utters more than words and syllables: and in our Common Laws it is held Maintenance, when a great Personage onely by his presence countenanceth a Cause. Neither let us secure our selves with this Argument; The Papists are pliable in small matters, *ergo*, they will yield in greater; and because they took no Arms in 88. therefore it were needless curiosit to suspect them now; for who knows not that small baits are used to take the greatest Fish, *Ut cum esca una etiam hamus devoretur?* Wariness is the sinew of wisdom; and nothing is more dangerous, than to be secure in matters of State: therefore for the Laws already made, I wish that the most effectual of them, which least concerns life, may be executed; for better it were not to make them, than by neglect to set them at liberty, seeing many offences there are, which men would abstain from if they were forbidden; but when a strict commandment is avoided without punishment, threout springs an unbridled Licence, hardly to be reformed by any rigour.

To conclude, I say freely, that whoso endeth his days by a natural death, he shall be subject to receive many mens dooms for every particular offence; but when for Religions sake, a man triumpheth over the sword, that one eminent vertue razeth out the memory of other errours, and placeth him that so dyeth in Paradice, if common opinion may be lawfully vouched; *which glory having many followers and admirers, awaketh even dull spirits to affect their footsteps, and to sell their lives for the maintinance of the same Cause.* I need not envy the name of a Martyr to the Jesuit; for his Cause, if it be rightly weighed, will blanch that Title; but I desire to have all those lineaments defaced, which may compound that counterfeit Image: in prosecuting of which purpose, if I have failed in my advice, and by confused handling intricated the question, I humbly request, that a wise mans verdict may mitigate the heaviness of that censure. It is neither good to praise bad Counsels, because of their good success; nor to condemn good Counsels, if the Events prove not fortunate; lest many be animated to advise rashly, and others disheartned to counsel gravely.

*Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

Senec. Trag.

His death deserveth more than common blame,
Whom all men knew too well, and yet alone,
(Alas!) he dyes unto himself unknown.

F I N I S.

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